

# Christianity and Crisis

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## Airplanes Are Not Enough

**B**EFORE we entered the war, we were forced to challenge many idealists, religious and secular, who refused to believe that if an evil idea became embodied in tanks and used airplanes as its instruments, it could be defeated if we did not set corresponding force against it. It has since become quite apparent that tyranny would have conquered the world if the material resources of civilization had not been organized and harnessed, so that force could be met by superior force.

Simple moralists may draw melancholy reflections from the fact that history places us under such a necessity. But profounder souls will recognize the relation of power to ideas as part of the unity of life which man has, in body and soul. The spiritual and the physical aspects of life are not identical; but neither can they be easily separated.

We have now come to a phase of the world struggle when it is important to remind the statesman of the democratic cause that while political struggles are never purely spiritual, neither are they ever purely physical. Our journals are filled today with promises and prophecies of victory, based upon the facts that our material resources are immeasurably greater than those of the Axis, that we now build nine thousand airplanes a month, and that we will be able to reduce the principal cities of Germany to rubble before the invasion begins.

It would be foolish to deny that part of our certainty of victory is derived exactly from such calculations and it would be hazardous to draw absolute distinctions between what is, and what is not permissible in a total war. The melancholy necessities of "total war" were invented neither by the Nazis nor by us. They are the consequences of a technical society which makes the harnessing of the total resources of a society for the destruction of the foe possible and therefore necessary. The necessity follows from the possibility because once the instruments of a total war are unloosed, they will guarantee defeat for the side which fails to use them, whether from want of resolution, or failure of organization, or moral scruple.

Nevertheless it is becoming obvious that our

reliance upon our physical superiority has become so preponderant because we are failing in giving the war its true spiritual meaning. The problem of the world is the problem of anarchy. Europe, with its multicolored national and ethnic life has been the particular source of world anarchy. We have proved in the past year that our statesmanship has no clear answer to the problems of Europe. We have no program which would rally the creative forces of Europe to our cause, though the oppressed nations of the continent naturally look forward to the negative solution of their problem which our victory will bring.

We make much of the fact that the three great hegemonous powers have reached an agreement. It must be admitted that this agreement represents a real achievement. But Europe does not know what the agreement implies. It could mean the partitioning of the continent into spheres of influence; in which case Europe would remain a cockpit for power rivalries. It could mean the subjugation of the continent by the three great powers; in which case the unity of the continent would be a coerced order. The cultural vitality of Europe is too great, whatever its present political and economic weakness, to give lasting value to such a solution.

produce the collapse of our enemies precisely because

We may well require more guns and airplanes to we are not using the most effective spiritual weapons against them. By confronting them with a future seemingly without hope, we give the dictators the opportunity of exploiting the despair of the people and using it as the final resource of a fatigued nation. If we were wise we would induce them to despair of the possibility of their victory but not of the meaning and virtue of ours.

If the whole of Europe is reduced to rubble before we destroy our enemies, that will partly prove how great a loyalty an evil cause can claim before it is finally defeated. But it may also prove that a good cause can be emptied of its essential meaning in the heat of conflict. We are not pleading for dishonest promises as weapons of "psychological warfare." What is needed is a more meaningful definition of our positive aims. The defeat of tyranny will give

this war a negative justification in any event. But it cannot be positively justified if it does not give Europe and the world a working alternative to the twin evils of international anarchy and international tyranny.

It is significant that the same statesmanship which would make the war meaningful in the long, as well as the short, run would also hasten the victory; all of which proves that ideas and ideals are important in conflict, even though they are never disembodied as the idealists imagine.

One tragic aspect of such a world conflict as that in which we are engaged is that preoccupation with the immediate issues and urgencies among both statesmen and people, occasioned by the war, seems to render us incapable of lifting our eyes to the wider and more ultimate issues. But we must not succumb to this peril. Physical weariness could cost us the victory; but spiritual weariness or complacency could rob our victory of its virtue.

R. N.

## Consensus of Conviction

The article by Archbishop Temple which we are publishing in this issue is more than a personal statement. It is intended to be a report on a consensus of conviction which has developed in Britain in recent years. Drafts of the article were discussed by many groups representing widely differing traditions and as Dr. Oldhams says: "These discussions seemed to show that the common ground is greater than is commonly recognized." This article attempts to show "what that common ground is." It has been necessary to abridge the article but every effort was made to cut out nothing that was essential to the thought. The strategic importance of this article in the development of religious thought in Britain makes it desirable to secure as many reactions to it in America as possible. Dr. Oldham, who supervised the process of discussion which led up to the writing of it, would like to have comments from readers of *Christianity and Crisis*. Send your comments to Professor John C. Bennett at our address.

# What Christians Stand for in the Secular World

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THE distinction between the tasks of Church and of society, of churchmen and citizens, is seldom clearly drawn; and the result is confusion and impotence. Either Christians try to act as churchmen in the world, only to find that the world refuses to be ordered on the principles proper to the Church; or else they look out for the secular policy most congenial to their Christian outlook, only to find that their Christianity is a dispensable adjunct of no practical importance.

Church and State are different, though they may comprise the same people; and each has its own appropriate sphere and method. Churchman and citizen are words with a different connotation even when they denote the same person; and that person, the individual Christian, has to exercise both of these different functions.

In the nineteenth century men still assumed a Law of God as universally supreme. In this country, at any rate, it was widely believed that God, whose nature was revealed in the Gospel and proclaimed by the Church, was also the orderer of the world and of life; in only a few quarters was the alienation of the actual order from any subjection to the God and Father of Jesus Christ perceived or stated. The Church was, therefore, free to concentrate its main energies on its distinctive task of proclaiming the

Gospel of redemption, without any sense of incongruity with the ordering of life in the world outside. Theologians could undertake the task of showing that Christianity enables us to "make sense" of the world with the meaning "show that it is sense." And those of us who were trained under those influences went on talking like that; I was still talking like that when Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reich.

All that seems remote today. We must still claim that Christianity enables us to "make sense" of the world, not meaning that we can show that it is sense, but with the more literal and radical meaning of making into sense what, till it is transformed, is largely nonsense—a disordered chaos waiting to be reduced to order as the Spirit of God gives it shape. Our problem is to envisage the task of the Church in a largely alien world. Some would have us go back to the example of the primitive Church or of the contemporary Church entering on an evangelistic enterprise in a heathen country; this means the abandonment of all effort to influence the ordering of life in the secular world and concentration of all effort upon what is, no doubt, the primary task of the Church, the preaching of the Gospel and the maintenance among converts of a manner of life conformed to the Gospel.

But this is a shirking of responsibility. The Church must never of its own free will withdraw from the conflict. If it is driven to the catacombs it will accept

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its destiny and set itself there to maintain and to deepen its faith. But it cannot abandon its task of guiding society so far as society consents to be guided.

But if so, it must be active in two distinct ways. It must at all costs maintain its own spiritual life, the fellowship which this life creates, and the proclamation of the Gospel in all its fulness, wherein this life expresses itself. Here it must insist on all those truths from which its distinctive quality is derived—that God is Creator and man with the world His creature; that man has usurped the place of God in an endeavor to order his own life after his own will; that in the Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ God has Himself taken action for the redemption of mankind; that in the Holy Spirit given by the Father through the Son to those who respond to the Gospel, power is offered for a life of obedience to God which is otherwise impossible for men; that those who are thus empowered by the Spirit are a fellowship of the Spirit or household of the Lord fitly called the Church; that in that Church are appointed means whereby men may receive and perpetually renew their union with their Lord and with one another in Him, and so increase in the Holy Spirit. All this must be maintained and proclaimed. And unless the Church is firm in its witness to its own faith, it will have no standing ground from which to address the world.

But standing firm upon its own ground, it can and must address the world. By what convictions constantly in mind will Christians called to such a task direct their actions?

There is in fact more widespread agreement than is generally supposed with regard to these basic convictions. I do not mean that they are universally accepted among Christians. But among Christians who have seriously and thoughtfully faced the historical situation with which we are dealing there is, as I have proved by testing, an observable convergence which may be presented in five affirmations; but as these are acts of faith, resting on a deliberate choice and involving a specific determination of the will, I speak of them rather as Decisions.

#### *For God Who Has Spoken*

A vague theism is futile. The cutting edge of faith is due to its definiteness. The kind of deity established (if any is at all) by the various "proofs"—ontological, cosmological and the like—is completely insufficient. The Christian has made a decision for God who has spoken—in nature, in history, in prophets, in Christ.

It follows that the value of man and the meaning of history is to be found in the nature and character of God, who has thus made Himself known. The value of a man is not what he is in and for himself—humanism; not what he is for society—fascism

and communism; but what he is worth to God. This is the principle of Christian equality; the supreme importance of every man is that he is the brother for whom Christ died. This is compatible with many forms of social differentiation and subdivision. It is not compatible with any scheme which subjects a man's personality to another man or to any group of men such as the government or administrators of the State.

The purpose of God is the governing reality of history. The nature of God is a righteousness which is perfect in love; His purpose, therefore, is the establishment of justice in all relationships of life—personal, social, economic, cultural, political, international. Many "humanists" share that aim, and Christians may well cooperate with them in practical policies from time to time. But a "decision for God" involves a sharp separation in thought, and, therefore, in the long run in practice, from many dominant tendencies of our time which seek the whole fulfillment of man's life in his earthly existence.

God has given to man freedom to decide for Him or against Him. This freedom is fundamental, for without it there could be only automatic obedience, not the obedience of freely offered loyalty. God always respects this freedom to the uttermost; therefore, freedom is fundamental to Christian civilization.

But though man is free to rebel against God, and can indeed do marvels through science and human wisdom in controlling his own destiny, yet he cannot escape the sovereignty of God. To deviate from the course of God's purpose is to incur disaster sooner or later—and sooner rather than later in so far as the deviation is great. The disaster ensues by "natural laws" as scientists use that phrase—that is by the casual processes inherent in the natural order. But these laws are part of God's creation, and the disasters which they bring are His judgments.

Yet because man has so great a power to shape his own destiny he is responsible for using this. Belief in God is used by many Christians as a means of escape from the hard challenge of life; they seek to evade the responsibility of decision by throwing it upon God, who has Himself laid it upon them. Faith in God should be not a substitute for scientific study, but a stimulus to it, for our intellectual faculties are God's gift to us.

#### *For Neighbor*

As the first great commandment is that we love God with all our being, so the second is that we love our neighbor as ourselves. Here we are not concerned with that duty, but with the fact that underlies it whether we do our duty or not—not with what ought to be, but with what is. This is that we stand before God—that is, in ultimate reality—as bound to one another in a complete equality in His



family. Personality is inherently social; only in social groupings can it mature, or indeed fully exist.

It is characteristic of much democratic thought that it seeks to eliminate or to depreciate all associations intermediate between the individual and the State. These, as the foci of local or other departmental loyalties, are nurseries of tradition and, therefore, obnoxious in the eyes of some prophets of progress. But it is in and through them that the individual exercises responsible choice or, in other words, is effectively free. The State is too large; the individual feels impotent and unimportant over against it.

Thus the limitless individualism of revolutionary thought, which aims at setting the individual on his own feet that he may, with his fellows, direct the State, defeats its own object and becomes the fount of totalitarianism. If we are to save freedom we must proceed, as Maritain urges, from democracy of the individual to democracy of the person, and recollect that personality achieves itself in the lesser groupings within the State—in the family, the school, the guild, the trade union, the village, the city, the county.

Christianity has always favored these lesser units. The Catholic Church itself is composed of dioceses, in each of which the structure of the Church is complete, representing the family of God gathered about the Bishop as its Father in God. And the civilization which the Church most deeply influenced was characterized by an almost bewildering efflorescence of local and functional guilds of every sort.

The revolutionary and mechanistic type of thought finds its classical and fontal expression in Descartes' disastrous deliverance, *Cogito, ergo sum*. Thus the individual self-consciousness became central. Each man looks out on a world which he sees essentially as related to himself. (This is the very quality of original sin, and it seems a pity to take it as the constitutive principle of our philosophy.) He sets himself to explore this world that he may understand and increasingly control it. In the world he finds a great variety of "things." Among the "things" are some which require a further compilation of his method of study, giving rise to psychology. He organizes these psychological "things" in ways calculated to extract from them the result he desires. He may, for example, as an industrial manager, introduce welfare work because he can in that way increase output. He might even, in an ultimate blasphemy, supply his troops with chaplains with no other object except to keep up military morale.

Now in all this he is treating persons as things. His relation to them is an "I—it" relation, not an "I—Thou" relation. This latter he only reaches so far as he loves or hates, and only in this relation does he treat persons as they really are. He may do very much what the enlightened man of purely

"scientific" outlook does: he provides for the welfare of employees, if he is an employer, and is, of course, glad that it pays; but that is not his motive: his motive is that they are human beings like himself.

It is in love and hate—the truly "personal" relationships—that we confront our neighbor as he is, a man like ourselves. Even hate has an insight denied to the egoist who coldly manipulates human beings as his pawns, and men resent it less. Most of us would rather be bullied than mechanically organized. But hate too is blind, partly from its own nature, partly because men hide from an enemy, as they do from a cynic, what is deepest and tenderest in their nature. Only love—the purpose of sheer goodwill intensified by sympathetic feeling—gives real insight and understanding.

We cannot command that love. Those who live with God become increasingly filled with it. But none of us can so rely on feeling it as safely to plan his life on the supposition of its emergence when required; and when we consider secular society as a whole we know that we cannot count on it in volume adequate to the need. Indeed in the relationships of politics, commerce and industry it cannot find expression and can scarcely arise.

Science, which has been perhaps the chief influence in giving its distinctive cast and color to the modern consciousness, is essentially an expression of the individualistic approach. As scientist, the individual stands over against the world, measuring, weighing, experimenting, judging, deciding. The gains which have resulted from this approach and activity are incalculable. We can today only regret the timidity which led Christians in the past to oppose the advances of science. No enlightened Christian today would question the right of science to investigate everything that it is capable of investigating.

It is none the less vital for the health of society that we should realize that, while man is meant to have dominion—and we cannot, therefore, be too thankful for the gift of science as an instrument, and are under an obligation to make the fullest use of it—the scientific attitude is only one approach to reality and not the most fundamental and important. As scientist the individual is monarch; he sits in the seat of judgment and asks what questions he will. But the situation is fundamentally changed when he encounters another person who, like himself, is monarch in relation to the world of things. In the encounter with another person or group he is no longer free to ask what questions he will and to order things according to his choice. Questions may be addressed to him from a source over which he has no control, and he has to answer. He is no longer sole judge, but is subject himself to judgment.

It will need a strong and sustained effort to emancipate ourselves from the one-sidedness of the individualistic attitude and to penetrate to the full mean-

ing of the truth that the fundamental reality of life is the interplay, conflict and continuous adjustment of a multitude of different finite points of view, both of individuals and of groups.

Acknowledgment of this truth would create a wholly different spiritual and intellectual climate from that which has prevailed in recent centuries. Men would still strive, no doubt, to gratify their desires and seek their own aggrandisement; they would not desist from the attempt to domineer over others. But these tendencies would be kept within bounds by a public opinion more aware than at present that in pursuing these courses men are doing violence both to their own nature and to the true nature of things.

Between the decision for God and the decision for neighbor there is a most intimate connection. In the New Testament these are always intertwined. We should in all remembrance of God remember also our neighbor, and in all thought of our neighbor think also of God. Our highest act of worship is not a mystic "flight of the alone to the Alone," but a fellowship meal, a Holy Communion. We come before God as "Our Father" to whom all His other children have the same right of access; the truth about God is among other things, His universal Fatherhood.

#### *For Man As Rooted In Nature*

The most important thing about man is his relation to God and to other men. But his life has also been set in a natural order, which is God's creation. A fundamental duty which man owes to God is reverence for the world as God has made it. Failure to understand and acknowledge this is a principal cause of the present ineffectiveness of the Christian witness in relation to the temporal order. It is one of the chief points at which a fundamental change of outlook is demanded from Christians. Our false outlook is most of all apparent in the exploitation of the physical world. As animals we are part of nature, dependent on it and inter-dependent with it. If we have dominion over it, that is as predominant partners, not as superior beings who are entitled merely to extract from it what gratifies our desires.

There are two major points at which failure to recognize that man's life is rooted in nature and natural associations leads to mistaken and vain attempts to solve the problem of society. The first grave error characteristic of our time is a too exclusive occupation with politics to the neglect of other equally important spheres of human life and activity. It is assumed that the ills from which society is suffering can be cured, if only we have the will and the right aims. It is forgotten that man is not a being ruled wholly by his reason and conscious aims. His life is inextricably intertwined with nature and

with the natural associations of family and livelihood, tradition and culture.

Recognition of the vital importance of centres of human life and activity that underlie and precede the sphere of politics must not be made an excuse for evading the political decisions which have to be made in the near future. It is not a way of escape from political responsibility. Far-reaching decisions in the political sphere may be the only means of creating the conditions in which the non-political spheres can regain vitality and health; but the recovery of health in those spheres is in its turn an indispensable preliminary to political sanity and vigor.

The present plight of our society arises in large part from the break-down of these natural forms of association and of a cultural pattern formed to a great extent under Christian influences. New dogmas and assumptions about the nature of reality have taken the place of the old. New rituals of various kinds are giving shape to men's emotional life. The consequence is that while their aims still remain to a large extent Christian, their souls are moulded by alien influences. The real crisis of our time is thus not primarily a moral, but a cultural crisis. In so far as this is true, the remedy is not to be found in what the Church is at present principally doing—insisting on ideals—or in efforts to intensify the will to pursue them. The cure has to be sought in the quite different direction of seeking to re-establish a unity between men's ultimate beliefs and habits and their conscious aims.

Christians must free their minds from illusions and become aware of the impotence of moral advice and instruction when it is divorced from the social structures which by their perpetual suggestion form the soul. It must be remembered that when exhortation and suggestion are at variance, suggestion always wins. Christians must take their part in recreating a sound social and cultural life and thereby healing the modern divided consciousness, in which head and heart have become divorced and men's conscious purposes are no longer in harmony with the forces which give direction and tone to their emotional life.

But, secondly, if Christians are to have a substantial influence on the temporal order, it is not only necessary that they should have a clearer and deeper understanding of the positive, character-forming function of the non-political forms of human association, but their whole approach to social and political questions needs to be much more realistic than it has commonly been in the past. The Christian social witness must be radically dissociated from the idealism which assumes men to be so free spiritually that aims alone are decisive. There is need of a much clearer recognition of the part played in human behavior by sub-conscious egoisms, interests, deceptions and determinisms imposed by man's place in

nature and history, by his cultural patterns and by his sinfulness.

It has to be recognized that society is made up of competing centres of power, and that the separate existence of contending vitalities, and not only human sinfulness, make the elimination of power impossible. What has to be aimed at is such a distribution and balance of power that a measure of justice may be achieved even among those who are actuated in the main by egoistic and sinful impulses. It is a modest aim, but observance of political life leaves no doubt that this must be its primary concern.

If Christians are to act with effect in the temporal order, it is necessary, as was said at the beginning, to distinguish more clearly than is commonly done between the two distinct spheres of society and Church, or the different realms of Law and Gospel. We also need a clearer and deeper understanding of the difference between justice, human love and Christian charity. The last transcends both justice and human fellowship while it has contacts with each. Associations cannot love one another; a trade union cannot love an employers' federation, nor can one national State love another. The members of one may love the members of the other so far as opportunities of intercourse allow. That will help in negotiations; but it will not solve the problem of the relations between the two groups. Consequently, the relevance of Christianity in these spheres is quite different from what many Christians suppose it to be. Christian charity manifests itself in the temporal order as a supra-natural discernment of, and adhesion to, *justice* in relation to the equilibrium of power. It is precisely fellowship or human love, with which too often Christian charity is mistakenly equated, that is *not* seriously relevant in that sphere. When the two are identified, it is just those who are most honest and realistic in their thinking and practice that are apt to be repelled from Christianity.

### *For History*

It is a question of vital importance whether history makes any fundamental difference to our understanding of reality. The Greek view was that it does not, and through the great thinkers of antiquity the Hellenic view still exercises a powerful influence over the modern mind.

In the Christian view, on the other hand, it is in history that the ultimate meaning of human existence is both revealed and actualized. If history is to have a meaning, there must be some central point at which that meaning is decisively disclosed. The Jews found the meaning of their history in the call of Abraham, the deliverance from Egypt, and the covenant with God following upon it. For Mohammedans the meaning of history has its centre in Mohammed's flight from Mecca. For Marxists the culminating

meaning is found in the emergence of the proletariat. The Nazis vainly pinned their hopes to the coming of Hitler. For Christians the decisive meaning of history is given in Christ.

Christianity is thus essentially a continuing action in history determining the course of human development. The Christian understanding of history has much closer affinities with the Marxist view, in which all assertions about the nature of man are inseparably bound up with the dynamics of his historical existence, and with other dynamic views of history, which understand the world in terms of conflict, decision and fate, and regard history as belonging to the essence of existence, than with the interpretations of Christianity in terms of idealistic thought which were lately prevalent.

A decision for history confronts us with two urgent practical tasks. The first is to disabuse the minds of people of the notion, which is widespread, and infects to a large extent current Christian preaching, that Christianity is in essence a system of morals, so that they have lost all understanding of the truth, so prominent in the New Testament, that to be a Christian is to share in a new movement of life, and to cooperate with new regenerating forces that have entered into history.

The second task is to restore hope to the world through a true understanding of the relation of the Kingdom of God to history, as a transcendent reality that is continually seeking, and partially achieving, embodiment in the activities and conflicts of the temporal order. Without this faith men can only seek escape from life in modes of thought which, pushed to their logical conclusion, deprive politics, and even the ethical struggle, of real significance, or succumb to a complete secularization of life in which all principles disintegrate in pure relativity, and opportunism is the only wisdom.

### *For the Gospel and the Church*

This understanding brings us face to face with the decision whether or not we acknowledge Christ as the centre of history. He is for Christians the source and vindication of those perceptions of the true nature of reality which we have already considered. In the tasks of society Christians can and must cooperate with all those, Christians or non-Christians, who are pursuing aims that are in accord with the divinely intended purpose of man's temporal life. But Christians are constrained to believe that in the power of the Gospel of redemption and in the fellowship of the Church lies the chief hope of the restoration of the temporal order to health and sanity.

What none but utopians can hope for the secular world should be matter of actual experience in the Church. For the Church is the sphere where the redemptive act of God lifts men into the most inti-



mate relation with Himself and through that with one another. When this is actually experienced the stream of redemptive power flows out from the Church through the lives of its members into the society which they influence. But only a Church firm in the faith set forth in outline earlier in this essay can give to its members the inspiration which they

need for meeting the gigantic responsibilities of this age. Spiritual resources far beyond anything now in evidence will be needed. It may be that the greatness of the challenge will bring home to Christians how impotent they are in themselves, and so lead to that renewal which will consist in re-discovery of the sufficiency of God and manifestation of His power.

## The World Church: News and Notes

### Nazis Resent Church Influence

A recent article in the Dutch Nazi newspaper, *Volken Vaderland*, shows the Nazi view of resistance offered by the church to Hitler's New Order.

"Even if the press has been purged of reactionary elements to a certain extent, the pulpits have not been purified at all," the paper says. "Preachers and priests abuse in audacious and highly unseemly manner that freedom which has been left to them as a matter of principle in execution of the spiritual; whereas, National Socialism refrained from encroaching on church property. Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen have set themselves up as leaders of a sphere where they have neither responsibility nor authority."

### The Baptists in Russia

A brief pamphlet on the status of the *Baptists in the U.S.S.R.*, by J. H. Rushbrooke, president of the Baptist World Alliance, is now available in this country. Dr. Rushbrooke says that within the past few months word has been received that the Soviet Government is "doing everything possible to help believers" and that the Russian Baptists and "Evangelical Christians" (who are also Baptists) now number 4,000,000.

This report is of special significance because in the past the Soviet Government has persecuted the Free Churches more than the Orthodox Church. A liturgical church was able to take advantage of its freedom for religious worship more fully than the Free Churches.

### Commission on a Just and Durable Peace Issues Practical Statement of Position

Urging our public leaders "to take steps to endow the projected post-war world organization with responsibilities that are curative and creative, not merely repressive," the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches, through its Chairman John Foster Dulles, asserted: "That is the only type of world organization which, in our judgment, the Christian forces of our nation will solidly support."

In a clear-cut statement, approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council with a constituency of some 25,000,000 Protestants, the Commission translated its position from the abstract into the practical by stating its conviction that its constituency will not support a peace which ignores moral principles. The general world organization proposed by the Moscow Declaration and the Senate's Connally Resolution must, the Commission emphasized, be endowed with "cura-

tive and creative" tasks as envisaged by the Six Pillars of Peace, the political propositions advanced by the Commission last spring as the basis of a just and durable peace. The Commission reiterated its position that since authority derives its strength from just and equitable dealings, international organization must be expressive of the moral law.

At the same time, in addition to addressing itself to political leaders, the Commission urged upon the American people that they remain united and vigorous to achieve such international organization. Particular disappointments, it said, are a reason "not for relapse toward political aloofness, but for even stronger efforts to achieve world organization which has potentialities for correcting mistakes and developing a true fellowship of peoples."

Demanding neither "the impossible nor the impracticable," the Commission recognized the need for "force under law." It insisted, however, that repression alone was not the road to the greatly desired goal. International organization, it said, must be designed "not to maintain a faulty world status, but to seek inventively to eradicate the political and economic maladjustments, the spiritual and intellectual deficiencies, the inadequacies of international law, which basically cause war."

Therefore, the Commission urged international organization proposed by the Six Pillars, designed to seek:

change of treaty conditions which may prove unjust and provocative of future war; establishment of economic and financial intercourse on a dependable and fruitful basis; autonomy as the genuine goal of colonial administration; a regime of spiritual and intellectual liberty for people everywhere.

In so doing the Commission assumed a realistic attitude, asserting it was prepared to recognize that any international organization dealing with such matters may, at first, have to depend more upon moral than legal authority. It observed that "only as there develops an increased awareness of common interest will national groups share with others decisive authority over their destiny."

It said there would be two kinds of decisions, particular decisions relating to boundaries, reestablishment of order in liberated areas and conditions imposed on enemy peoples and general decisions relating to the nature of the post-war order which will be created by the United Nations.

The Commission, without specifying, asserted that there are some proposals for particular settlements so clearly violative of the moral law that Christian con-

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science could never acquiesce, adding that "the Christian people of this nation expect that their government will reject them and strive earnestly and competently for particular settlements which will be just and conducive to permanent concord."

"But we must recognize that war," the Commission said, "creates a psychological environment that is abnormal and transitory; that there are conflicts of legitimate claims and that many millions in Europe who are deeply concerned cannot now effectively present their views. Therefore there will be particular settlements which will fail to meet the test of time. This accentuates the importance of the general decisions which will determine the nature of the post-war order."

"In conclusion, we appeal to the people in our churches to stand strong in their faith in God. Our hope rests upon the knowledge that He rules in the affairs of men and nations. Plans arising from the despair born of fear, and from the frenzy born of passion, are destined to failure. Let us proclaim boldly and clearly, 'The Lord thy God reigneth.' As the power of our nation is used in conformity with His laws it will contribute to the establishing of a just and durable peace."

### William Paton Memorial Fund

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York have endorsed an appeal to set up a William Paton Memorial Fund for the promotion of understanding and cooperation between churches of different countries.

The fund, to consist of not less than 10,000 pounds, will be named in honor of the late Dr. Paton, British secretary of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, who died last August at his home in Westmoreland, England.

The primary purpose of the fund, it was announced, will be to provide for visits to this country by representative churchman from abroad.

R. N. S.

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### Bulletins for Service Men

Several ministers have sent us bulletins which their churches publish especially for the men and women in the services from their congregation. The bulletin sends news from the church, keeps the men widely scattered in the armed services in touch with each other and usually has some brief religious message. A mimeographed bulletin of this kind seems worth doing.

### Communication

Gentlemen:

The more one admires the lucidity, beauty, and fairness of Reinhold Niebuhr's recent article on Germany, the more one is thunderstruck by the aspersion abruptly cast on General de Gaulle—he may turn out to be "a slightly more decorous Hitler." Please publish this emphatic word of protest. It is not to deny that there are peculiar dangers in the French situation. The military and moral disaster may have created in the French soul, and in that of General de Gaulle, an inferiority complex which would seek its outlet in a fanatic nationalism. But fairness would demand immediately to add that we have done our best to kindle such nationalism by many discriminatory actions and much whispering talk, culminating in the suggestion that we should keep Dakar for us and Bizerte for the British. When in London Reinhold Niebuhr must have met those French political exiles who were left behind by General de Gaulle because they insist on "restoring" French democracy, while he insists on "renewing" it. Reinhold Niebuhr does not help the cause of France's renewal when he now denounces the hero and recognized symbol of the entire French resistance movement as possibly almost as vicious as Hitler. And one wonders why he picks out for such a flippant remark a man who has been a life-long ardent student of the Christian Pascal and the humanist Montaigne and who should know something of moral standards. In sum, no believer in Christian democracy can be blind to the problems peculiar to the French renewal; but they should be discussed with understanding moderation and at least a minimum of sympathy for this epic struggle, which, for all its dangers, is certainly also a cause of comfort and hope.

EDUARD HEIMANN,  
New York City.

Professor Heimann's point is well taken. A "slightly more decorous Hitler" is an unjust description of the perils which lie in General de Gaulle's movement. It is a fact, however, and an ominous one, that General de Gaulle's eyes are altogether on the future of France and not on the future of Europe. It is easy to understand why this is so but such understanding does not rob the new French nationalism of its peril.

R. N.

Due to the publication of the Archbishop of Canterbury's article in this issue of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS, it is necessary to postpone the publication of an article by Miss Margaret Wrong entitled "Christians and Colonies." Miss Wrong's article will appear in the February 21st issue.